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R 140629Z FEB 94 ZDK PER HNR SVC

FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5704

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

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AMEMBASSY PARIS

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 00634

PARIS FOR PERLOW

BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, RW

SUBJECT: OBSERVERS DEMARCHE ON LAUNCHING GOVERNMENT

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KIGALI 00634 01 OF 03 150910Z PAGE 02 1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: GERMAN, BELGIAN, FRENCH AND U.S. AMBASSADORS MET FEBRUARY 11 WITH PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA TO URGE QUICK ESTABLISHMENT OF TRANSITIONAL INSTITUTIONS. THIS MEETING FOLLOWED A SIMILAR DEMARCHE TO PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU ON FEBRUARY 7 AND TO THE RWANDAN PATRIOTIC FRONT ON FEBRUARY 8. THE PRESIDENT LISTED ISSUES STILL BLOCKING ESTABLISHMENT OF THE

INSTITUTIONS, NOTED THE GROWING PRESSURE TO PROCEED ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14, AND EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN THAT GOING AHEAD WITHOUT THE LIBERAL PARTY WAS CONTRARY TO THE ARUSHA SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION. HE WAS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED THAT SPEED IN SETTING UP UP INSTITUTIONS NOT RESULT IN THE CIRCUS ATMOSPHERE OF JANUARY 5 WHEN ONLY PART OF THOSE WHO WERE TO BE SWORN IN SHOWED UP FOR CEREMONIES. AMBASSADORS FIRMLY COUNSELED COMPROMISE AND URGENCY IN SETTING UP INSTITUTIONS. END SUMMARY.

3. AFTER WELCOMING THE AMBASSADORS, THE PRESIDENT TURNED OVER THE DISCUSSION TO HIS CABINET DIRECTOR, RUHIGIRA, WHO HAD ATTENDED THE MULTI-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS. RUHIGIRA SUMMARIZED THE WEEK'S EVENTS: A MARATHON ALL-PARTY SESSION ON MONDAY, NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE LIBERAL PARTY (LP) ON TUESDAY AND WEDNESDAY, AND ANOTHER MARATHON ALL-PARTY SESSION THURSDAY NIGHT (NOTE: THE THURSDAY SESSION WAS DELAYED SEVERAL HOURS AFTER SOME RPF-SYMPATHIZERS HAD BEEN DETAINED BY RWANDAN MILITARY AUTHORITIES. RPF

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  REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE AS LONG AS THE GOVERNMENT WITH
  WHOM THEY WERE NEGOTIATING HELD THEIR PEOPLE IN
  CUSTODY. THE UN FORCES MANAGED TO SECURE RELEASE OF
  THE PERSONS AND ARRANGED FOR A 5:00 P.M. OPENING OF
  THE DISCUSSION. END NOTE.)
- 4. RUHIGIRA CHARACTERIZED THE MEETINGS AS AN INTENSE AND CONFRONTATIONAL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, THOUGH THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL (SPSG), BOOH BOOH, WHO CHAIRED THE EVENTS, HAD PREVIOUSLY TOLD AMBASSADORS THAT THE THURSDAY NIGHT SESSION WAS CONSTRUCTIVE. RUHIGIRA REPORTED THAT THE LIBERAL PARTY HAD NOT BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE A COMPROMISE ON A SINGLE LIST, BUT HAD BEEN GIVEN ANOTHER THREE DAYS TO WORK ON THE PROBLEM. SESSIONS HAD DISCOUNTED THE LEVEL OF DIVISION WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT (MDR), ALTHOUGH RUHIGIRA NOTED QUESTIONS WERE RAISED WHETHER THE PERSON WHO PRESENTED MDR'S CANDIDATES (NAMELY THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE) STILL BELONGED TO THE PARTY. THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY (MRND) HAD WANTED A CODE OF GOOD CONDUCT ADOPTED, BUT TIME HAD NOT PERMITTED THAT TO BE RAISED. IN SUMMING UP THE

SITUATION, THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE HAD ALWAYS CALLED FOR COMPROMISE, THAT RECONCILIATION HAD BEEN HIS THEME FROM THE BEGINNING, BUT THAT THE PARTIES HAD NOT YET BRIDGED THEIR DIFFERENCES. WHAT DID THE AMBASSADORS WANT HIM TO DO?

5. THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR, AS HEAD OF THE EUROPEANS, LED OFF WITH A STRONG STATEMENT THAT TIME WAS LONG CONFIDENTIAL

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OVERDUE TO SET UP THE INSTITUTIONS. PROBLEMS WITHIN
THE PARTIES COULD NO LONGER BE ALLOWED TO HOLD UP THE
NECESSARY PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTING THE ARUSHA PEACE
ACCORD. IF THE LIBERAL PARTY WERE NOT ABLE TO GET
ITSELF TOGETHER, THEN IT SHOULD BE ASKED TO STEP
ASIDE. THE PROBLEMS WITHIN THE MDR DID NOT APPEAR
THAT DIFFICULT. THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR QUERIED WHY
THE CODE OF GOOD CONDUCT, WHICH THE MRND SEEM TO FEEL

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KIGALI 00634 02 OF 03 150912Z PAGE 02 NECESSARY, WHICH HAS BEEN BROADLY DISCUSSED WITH AMBASSADORS AND WHICH WAS LARGELY KNOWN AMONGST OTHER PARTIES, HAD NEVER BEEN TABLED BY ITS OWN PROPONENTS AT THE MEETINGS. RUHIGIRA REJOINED THAT THE MEETINGS' CONFRONTATIONAL ATMOSPHERE KEPT MRND FROM RAISING CONCERNS IN THAT DOCUMENT. THE AMBASSADOR THEN NOTED THAT, FROM A POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE, MOST OF THE PARTIES FAVORED ESTABLISHING INSTITUTIONS AND WERE WILLING TO GO AHEAD EVEN IF THE LIBERAL PARTY COULD NOT PROPOSE A COMMON LIST. IT SEEMED THAT THE MRND REMAINED THE ONLY RECALCITRANT VOICE; THAT WOULD BE SEEN AS SUCH BY THE RWANDAN PEOPLE AND BY OUTSIDE OBSERVERS.

6. THE PRESIDENT QUESTIONED WHETHER MOST PARTIES DID, IN FACT, FAVOR GOING AHEAD WITH INSTITUTIONS AND THEN GAVE A DETAILED EXPLANATION OF THE ONGOING SCHISMS WITHIN THE PARTIES. HE STRONGLY EMPHASIZED THAT HE DID NOT WANT TO PUSH AHEAD FOR INSTALLATION OF THE INSTITUTIONS AND FACE THE SAME SCENARIO AS ON JANUARY 5 WHERE THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT AS TO HOW AND WITH WHOM TO PROCEED. HE SAID HE WOULD BE SEEING SRSG BOOH BOOH MORNING OF FEBRUARY 12. THAT MEETING MIGHT SHED MORE LIGHT ON THE SITUATION; THE PRESIDENT

PROMISED TO KEEP AMBASSADORS INFORMED OF ANY PROGRESS. HE WAS, HOWEVER, NOT WILLING TO ACCEPT MONDAY AS THE DATE CERTAIN ON WHICH THE INSTITUTIONS COULD BE ESTABLISHED.

7. U.S. AMBASSADOR TOOK THE QUESTION BACK TO THE LIBERAL PARTY NOTING THAT THE RPF POSITION, FIRMLY CONFIDENTIAL

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KIGALI 00634 02 OF 03 150912Z PAGE 03 HELD FOR THE PAST MONTH, HAD RECENTLY CHANGED DUE TO PRESSURE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE IN WASHINGTON. THE RPF WAS NOW WILLING TO ACCEPT A COMPROMISE PL SINGLE LIST. THAT OPPORTUNITY FOR COMPROMISE SHOULD BE SEIZED SO THAT INSTITUTIONS COULD BE ESTABLISHED. EVEN IF PL LEADERS COULD NOT COME UP WITH A LIST BY MONDAY, THEIR POSITIONS IN GOVERNMENT AND LEGISLATURE COULD BE HELD FOR THEM, AFTER INSTALLATION, AT WHATEVER TIME THEIR DIFFERENCES WERE BRIDGED. THE AMBASSADOR ALSO NOTED UNITED STATES APPEALS TO GENERAL KAGAME AND TO CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE FOR A CHANGE IN THE CONFRONTATIONAL TONE OF PUBLIC DECLARATIONS AND RPF MEDIA COVERAGE. HE URGED THAT ALL INVOLVED IN THE PEACE PROCESS CHANGE THE TENOR OF DISCOURSE AND COLLABORATE A POSITIVE EFFORT TO ACHIEVE COMMON GOALS.

8. BELGIAM AMBASSADOR REINFORCED THOSE THEMES,
EXPRESSING THE DEEP CONCERN THAT THE FRAGILE
ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE BE MAINTAINED, AS NEGOTIATIONS
CONTINUED, AND NOTING THE DEMARCHES BEING MADE BY
FORMER PRIME MINISTER MARTENS NOW VISITING IN
RWANDA. THE BELGIAN AMBASSADOR SAID THAT MARTENS
WOULD IMPRESS ON RPF, INCLUDING GENERAL KAGAME, THE
SAME URGENCY, TOLERANCE AND OPENNESS TO COMPROMISE
THAT AMBASSDORS WERE URGING ON THE PRESIDENT. IN
CONCLUDING ARGUMENTS, U.S. AMBASSADOR URGED THAT THE
MRND IMMEDIATELY CONTINUE DIALOGUE WITH OTHER PARTIES
WITH A VIEW TOWARDS FINDING AGREEMENT ON COMMON
CONCERNS. THE GERMAN AMBASSADOR NOTED THAT WE WOULD
ALL KEEP OUR SCHEDULES FREE FOR MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14,

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IN ANTICIPATION OF THE HOPED FOR INSTALLATION.

9. COMMENT: THIS MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT BROUGHT TO A CLOSE A SERIES OF DEMARCHES BY THE WESTERN OBSERVERS ON KEY PLAYERS IN THE CURRENT IMPASSE. THE MESSAGE WAS CONSISTENTLY THE SAME: COMPROMISE, FLEXIBILITY, SPEED AND THE NEED FOR COMMON COMMITMENT TO POSITIVE POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND POLITICAL COLLABORATION FOR THE GOOD OF THE NATION. SOME

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KIGALI 00634 03 OF 03 150936Z PAGE 02 PARTICULAR DETAILS EMERGED FROM EACH CONVERSATION. THE PRIME MINISTER-DESIGNATE CLAIMED WILLINGNESS TO HAND OVER ONE PORTFOLIO (NOT TWO AS HE HAD TOLD A/S BENNET) TO THE OPPOSITE TENDENCY OF HIS PARTY. WHEN PRESSED WHETHER HE HAD COORDINATED WITH PARTY OFFICIALS ON THAT CHOICE, HE RESPONDED IN THE FUTURE CONDITIONAL. THE RPF WANTED THE PRESIDENT AND MRND TO BRING OUT IN THE OPEN THEIR HIDDEN CONCERNS ABOUT THE TRANSITION PROCESS. HOWEVER, WHEN AMBASSADORS RAISED IDEAS OF AMNESTY OR A CODE OF BEHAVIOR, RPF LEADERS REVERTED TO THEIR POSITION THAT ALL NECESSARY PROVISIONS FOR SETTING UP THE GOVERNMENT HAD BEEN AGREED TO IN ARUSHA. THE RPF DID EXPLICITLY RECOGNIZE MEND AS A ESTABLISHED POLITICAL PARTNER AND AGREED TO GO ALONG WITH A COMPROMISE PL LIST OF DEPUTIES, BOTH VIEWS REFLECTING NEW POSITIONS SINCE CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE'S VISIT IN WASHINGTON.

10. IN THE FACE OF HABYARIMANA'S REITERATION OF OUTSTANDING ISSUES AND UNWILLINGNESS TO BREAK THROUGH THE IMPASSE, THE OBSERVER GROUP WAS MOST FIRM IN POINTING OUT THAT TIME HAD RUN OUT, THAT A POLITICAL SOLUTION WAS AT HAND WHICH COULD LET INSTITUTIONS BE ESTABLISHED AND WHICH ONLY THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY SEEMED TO OPPOSE, AND THAT A NEW ORDER OF POLITICAL COLLABORATION AND POSITIVE DISCOURSE WAS NEEDED ON ALL SIDES. THE PRESIDENT DID NOT SEEM CONVINCED. BUT HIS MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR BOOH BOOH TOMORROW, LIBERAL PARTY MEETINGS OVER THE WEEKEND, AND MRND INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER PARTIES MIGHT BREAK THROUGH THE BLOCKAGES. THE AMBASSADORS CONFIDENTIAL

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WHO SAW THE PRESIDENT TODAY MIGHT MEET HIM AGAIN AT AN INVESTITURE CEREMONY ON MONDAY, FEBRUARY 14; BUT WE WOULD NOT BET GOOD MONEY ON IT. RAWSON

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